

Message Text

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E.O. 11652:GDS
TAGS: MCAF, NATO
SUBJECT: BASIC ISSUES OF DEFENSE PLANNING: AIRCRAFT SHELTERS

REFS: A) USNATO 5420 (NOTAL); B) STATE222718; C) USNATO
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5466 (NOTAL); D) USNATO 5515 (NOTAL)

1. THE US BELIEVES THAT THE NATO AIRCRAFT SHELTER PROGRAM
SHOULD BE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE SHELTERS FOR ALL NATO IN-
PLACE,DUAL BASED,RAPID REACTOR,AND AUGMENTATION TACTICAL
AIRCRAFT THROUGH M 30 DEPLOYMENT. THE US ALSO
FEELS THAT NATO SHOULD: ENCOURAGE A RAPID INCREASE IN THE
NUMBER OF COLOCATED BASES FOR BEDDOWN OF US REINFORCEMENT
AIRCRAFT, PROVIDE INFRASTRUCTURE FUNDS FOR NECESSARY NEW

FACILITIES AT THESE BASES, AND SUPPORT MEASURES TO REDUCE GROUND EXPOSURE TIME FOR HEAVY LIFT AIRCRAFT.

2. THE US REALIZES THAT A FULL EXPANSION OF NATO'S SHELTER PROGRAM MAY NOT BE FEASIBLE IN -THE NEXT FEW YEARS, GIVEN COMPETING PRIORITIES FOR COMMON FUNDS. WE ACKNOWLEDGE, TOO, THE OBJECTIONS OF SOME (REF A) TO SHELTERING 100 PERCENT OF NATO TACTICAL AIR ASSETS BECAUSE OF PRESENT UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT BEDDOWN, ATTRITION, COST EFFECTIVENESS, AND THE DESIRABILITY OF PROTECTIVE MEASURES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. HOWEVER, THE MOST RECENT US ANALYSIS OF THIS COMPLEX MATTER (REF B), COMPLETED THIS MONTH, DEMONSTRATED

ANEW THE VALIDITY OF THE US POSITION, TO WIT,"PAYOFFS FOR INCREASED SHELTERING CONTINUE WELL BEYOND THE LEVEL NEEDED TO SHELTER 100 PERCENT OF NATO'S DPQ FORCE WHEN US AUGMENTATION AIRCRAFT ARE INCLUDED."

3. WE FEAR THAT SHOULD MINISTERS DECIDE IN DECEMBER TO COMMIT THE QUESTION OF FURTHER SHELTERING TO FURTHER STUDY, IT WILL BE A YEAR BEFORE NATO AGREES TO EXPAND THE PRESENT PROGRAM. A YEAR OF SHELTER CONSTRUCTION, SLICE XXVII, WOULD BE LOST AFTER SHELTERS ARE COMPLETED IN 1975 FOR 70 PERCENT OF THE EARMARKED/ASSIGNED, IN PLACE, AND DUAL BASED TACTICAL AIRCRAFT. NATO CANNOT AFFORD THIS PAUSE WHILE THE WARSAW PACT, WITH A YEAR'S HEAD START, SEEMS BENT ON SHELTERING ALL OF ITS TACTICAL AIRCRAFT IN EASTERN EUROPE.

4. HENCE THE US BELIEVES THAT MINISTERS SHOULD AGREE THIS DECEMBER TO CONSTRUCTION OF ANOTHER SUBSTANTIAL INCREMENT OF SHELTERS IN THE 1975-1979 PERIOD.

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5. FYI THE FOREGOING IS FOR MISSIONS USE, AS APPROPRIATE, IN PRESENTING US POSITION ON EWG TREATMENT OF AIRCRAFT SHELTERS IN ITS REPORT ON BASIC ISSUES OF DEFENSE PLANNING. WE WELCOME UK WILLINGNESS TO HAVE NATO FOCUS ON THE NEED FOR A SHELTER PROGRAM AND ASSOCIATED PROTECTIVE MEASURES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (REF A). THIS IS AN APPROPRIATE TOPIC FOR FURTHER STUDY IF A STUDY IS REQUIRED TO PERSUADE THE UK GOVERNMENT OR PUBLIC OF THE DESIRABILITY OF SHELTERS. WE ESTIMATE THAT UK AGREEMENT TO AIRCRAFT SHELTERS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES UNDER CURRENT SHAPE CRITERIA WOULD YIELD 151 MORE SHELTERS FOR US AIRCRAFT (BESIDES THE 51 F-111'S AT RAF UPPER HEYFORD ALREADY AGREED) AND 109 SHELTERS FOR RAF AIRCRAFT AT A TOTAL COST FOR THE 260 OF \$73 MILLION. WHAT FOLLOWS IN PARAS 6 THROUGH 8 ARE OUR VIEWS, IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE, OF APPROPRIATE INCREMENTS OF SHELTERS THAT NATO SHOULD AGREE THIS DECEMBER TO CONSTRUCT BEFORE 1980. CONSUMATION OF THESE ALTERNATIVES DEPENDS INTER ALIA UPON UK AGREEMENT

TO PHYSICAL PROTECTION OF TACTICAL AIRCRAFT THAT WOULD
BEDDOWN IN UK ENDFYI.

6. SHAPE NOW EXCLUDES AIRLIFT, RAPID REACTOR, AND
AUGMENTATION AIRCRAFT FROM ITS PHYSICAL PROTECTION PROGRAM
(SECTION IV, PARAS 8 AND 9 OF SHAPE LETTER TO US,
6160/14-4-1/10-4111/69, 30 OCT 1969 AND SHAPE LETTER
6160/14-4-1/S57/70, 5 MARCH 1970). THE US RAPID REACTOR
AIRCRAFT ARE EARMARKED FOR NATO AND COMMITTED TO DEPLOY
TO EUROPE BY M 3. THESE ELEVEN OPERATIONALLY READY
TACTICAL SQUADRONS WILL CONSIST OF SUCH FIRST-LINE AIR-
CRAFT AS THE F-15, A-10, F-111 AND F-4 BY 1979. THE TOTAL
FLYAWAY COST OF THESE ASSETS, AT FY 75 PRICES, WILL BE
OVER \$1.8 BILLION. THE US BELIEVES THAT NATO SHOULD
NOW AGREE TO SHELTER 70 PERCENT OF THESE RAPID REACTOR
AIRCRAFT, 176, AT AN ESTIMATED COST OF \$58 MILLION
(330 K APIECE). SIXTY-THREE OF THESE AIRCRAFT WILL
DEPLOY TO THE UK. SHELTERING MORE THAN \$1 BILLION WORTH
OF EARMARKED, M 3 ASSETS FOR \$58 MILLION STRIKES US AS A
GOOD BUY, NO MATTER ONE'S ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT SCENARIO,
ATTRITION AND THE REST. THE FACT THAT NEARLY HALF OF
THESE SQUADRONS CURRENTLY HAVE NO FIRM BEDDOWN UNDERSCORES
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THE IMPORTANCE OF A RAPID INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF
COLOCATED OPERATING BASES FOR US REINFORCEMENT AIRCRAFT.
AS AN ADDITION TO THIS ALTERNATIVE AND A POSSIBLE QUO FOR
ALLIES, WE ESTIMATE THAT OUR ALLIES POSSESS SOME 500 UE
COMBAT CAPABLE, LAND-BASED TACTICAL AIRCRAFT (EXCLUDING
FRANCE) NOT NOW EARMARKED OR ASSIGNED TO NATO THAT
WOULD ENGAGE IN THE EARLY COMMON DEFENSE. CONSEQUENTLY
THE CURRENT ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA WILL PROTECT NOT 70
PERCENT BUT SOME 57 PERCENT OF IN-PLACE ALLIED AIRCRAFT,
INCLUDING THE UK. HENCE ANOTHER 350 ALLIED AIRCRAFT
(135 IN UK) COULD BE PROTECTED AT 70 PERCENT SHELTERING
FOR AN ESTIMATED COST OF \$116 MILLION. FYI WHETHER OR
NOT THE ALLIES ACCEPT THE INDUCEMENT OF PROTECTING MORE
OF THEIR OPERATIONALLY ACTIVE TACTICAL AIRCRAFT, WE
PREFER THE ALTERNATIVE OF SHELTERING 70 PERCENT OF RAPID
REACTOR AIRCRAFT TO THOSE COURSES, BELOW, OF INCREASING
THE PERCENTAGE OF IN PLACE AND DUAL BASED AIRCRAFT
COVERED. FIRST, THE PREFERRED ALTERNATIVE PROVIDES NEW
SHELTERS FOR US VALUABLE HIGHLY CAPABLE AIRCRAFT AND
PERHAPS MORE NEW SHELTERS (526) FOR NATO. SECOND,
EXTENDING PROTECTION TO MORE AIRCRAFT AT THE ACCEPTED
PERCENTAGE OF PROTECTION AVOIDS PROLONGED, DILATORY
AUGUMENTS OVER THE MARGINAL UTILITY OF HIGHER PERCENT
COVERAGE. END FYI.

7. IF NATO CANNOT NOW AGREE TO PROTECTION OF EARLY
REINFORCEMENT ASSETS, US OR BOTH US AND ALLIES, WE
RECOMMEND THAT MINISTERS NOW AGREE TO PROTECTION OF 90

PERCENT OF EARMARKED/ASSIGNED IN PLACE AND DUAL BASED TACTICAL AIRCRAFT. THIS INCREMENT WOULD INCLUDE 144 US SHELTERS ALL OF WHICH EXCEPT 58 IN THE UK WE HAVE ALREADY PREFINANCED AND BUILT. THE ALLIED INCREMENT WOULD BE 435 SHELTERS. THE TOTAL COST TO NATO FOR THESE 579 SHELTERS (AT 330 K APIECE) WOULD BE SOME \$191 MILLION. FYI ALTHOUGH THIS ALTERNATIVE PROVIDES SOME RECOUPMENT FOR US CONSTRUCTION (86 SHELTERS), IT PROVIDES FEWER NEW SHELTERS, 493, COSTS NATO MORE THAN OUR PREFERRED ALTERNATIVE, AND IS BOUND TO BE ANALYTICALLY CONTROVERSIAL END FYI.

8. THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE IS A MORE MODEST VARIANT OF THE SECOND. IN OUR FINAL ALTERNATIVE, NATO WOULD AGREE TO
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SHELTER 80 PERCENT OF ITS EARMARKED/ASSIGNED IN PLACE AND DUAL BASED TACTICAL AIRCRAFT. THIS INTERIM INCREMENT WOULD PROVIDE SHELTERS FOR 72 US AIRCRAFT (OF WHICH 28 WOULD BE NEW CONSTRUCTION IN THE UK) AND 217 ALLIED AIRCRAFT AT A TOTAL ESTIMATED COST (AT 330 K APIECE) OF \$96 MILLION.

9. FYI TEXT OF REF A, PARA 12, SUGGESTS THAT UK MAY NOT REALIZE THAT US RAPID REACTOR TACTICAL AIRCRAFT ARE NOT ELIBILE FOR PHYSICAL PROTECTION PROGRAM. HENCE UK MAY LEAD OTHER ALLIES NOW SUPPORTING ITS POSITION OF FURTHER STUDY (REF C) TO OUR PREFERRED ALTERNATIVE. IN ANY EVENT, WE STRONGLY DESIRE EWG RECOMMENDATION OF CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW, SIZEABLE INCREMENT OF SHELTER IN THE 1975-1979 PERIOD. IF EWG CONCERNS ITSELF WITH FORCE IMPROVEMENT STANDARDS AND SETS ASIDE FUNDING ISSUE, WE DESIRE MINISTERIAL ENDORSEMENT OF SOME COMMON FUNDING S SCHEME, INTRODUCED PERHAPS BY DPC PERMREPS. END FYI.

10. REF D PARA 10 SEEMS TO CONFIRM CONFUSION ABOUT CURRENT ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA DISCUSSED IN PARA 9 ABOVE. WE HOPE ALTERNATIVE OUTLINED IN PARA 6 WILL BE ACCEPTED ONCE IT IS REALIZED "SHORTFALL" RESULTS FROM CURRENT ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA. KISSINGER

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